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## The Week

NOW that Maine has spoken the Democrats are having a hard time to keep up their courage. They can win some comfort from the fact that public sentiment is far from homogeneous throughout the country. Sooner or later the formula, "As Maine goes so goes the country," will prove a delusion. Why not this year? There are no local causes to account adequately for the overwhelming Republican majority in Maine. From the start it has been evident that the Democracy had a heavy handicap to overcome in the popular disillusionment with the Democratic record. Everything depended for them on the progress Cox might be able to make toward defining new and vital issues. So far as Maine is concerned, this progress has obviously been wholly negative. It does not necessarily follow that the same thing is true of the country at large. But the burden of proof rests on those who would affirm that the country at large is moving in the reverse direction.

THERE is enough discontent in the rank and file of the electorate to upset many political calculations. The victory of Tom Watson over Hoke Smith and Governor Dorsey is one indication of the abnormal condition of political sentiment. Whatever Watson stands for, it is not for the policies of Wilson nor the platform of Cox. Another indication is given by the primary returns in Wisconsin. There the candidates for governor, lieutenant governor and secretary of state who were endorsed by LaFollette and the Non-Partisan League won by comfortable pluralities. The same political forces dominated the nominations for the state legislature. The one victory for the regulars consisted in the renomination of Senator Lenroot, but over a seriously divided opposition. The Wisconsin electorate is obviously not too content with the tendencies represented by Harding. But apparently the force of the opposition is to spend itself in the local contest within the party. The Democrats will get little or nothing out of it.

IN the war and in peace negotiations the coal question exerted an immense influence upon the calculations of statesmen. The German invasion was intended, if not to end the war at a blow, to wrest from the Allies the industrial power represented by the Belgian and French coal mines. The strategy of Russian intervention, from the beginning to the present day, has been directed toward control of the Donetz coal basin. The most significant clauses of the Peace Treaty are those that deal with the Saar Valley, the Silesian coal measures, and the compulsory deliveries of coal from Westphalia. The Spa conference, intended to effect a general settlement of the issues between victor and vanquished, turned into a debate on coal which ended none too conclusively. But now it appears that the statesmen were exaggerating their power to deal with this question. They had overlooked the miners and the new sense the miners have acquired, all over Europe, of the power they can wield and of their international solidarity.


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AT the international coal miners' congress at Geneva, where delegates from both sides of the late battle line met in harmony, a resolution was adopted unanimously committing the miners to a war against war. In case the statesmen again attempt to drag the peoples to war, the miners of all countries propose to strike. This agreement is significant, in view of the French determination to occupy Westphalia if the stipulated coal deliveries are not forthcoming. Another resolution was unanimously carried for the nationalization or socialization of the mines. There were differences of opinion on the points whether private owners should be compensated or not, whether the mines should be exploited by the state or be run by a mixed control representing the miners, the consumers and the state. Only the American delegate opposed all forms of nationalization. For the rest, there was an agreement that private ownership would have to go, but how or when remains to be determined. It may, however, be taken for granted that when the miners of one country try to force nationalization, coal supplies from other countries will be hard to obtain.

IT does not seem likely that the miners of France, Belgium and Czecho-Slovakia will soon move toward the nationalization of mines, however ardently they may espouse the principle. There is more reason for anticipating some such action in Germany and England. The German miner has been impressed by the struggle between the mine owner and the indemnity claimants over the surplus of his labor. Stinnes tries to hold on to the surplus, and Millerand tries to take it away. What right has either, the miner asks, and prepares to push his own claims. The British miner has a more compact and self-conscious organization and has tasted victories that lead him to demand more. The government did indeed reject the miners' project of nationalization, but the government cannot prevent the miners from demanding more and more wages, until the property interest in the mines becomes shadowy. The increase in pay for which the miners are now threatening to strike does not go so far as that, to be sure, but it will move the industry along toward the point where further concessions to labor will actually cut into the property interest.

OUR own coal mining dispute looks like a primitive and elementary matter, in comparison. The anthracite coal miners allege that they are not getting enough pay to live on. They say they are not even on a level with the bituminous workers, who are by no means munificently paid. The anthracite owners and operators are rich enough to pay a living wage. There is nothing revolutionary about the demand for a living wage, upon an industry that can well afford to pay it. But the case has its perplexities. The organization agreed to abide by the award of the President's commission, and now that they do not like the award, the miners are resisting it by "vacations," which amount in effect to an unauthorized strike. As the President points out, the outlaw miners make a scrap of paper out of a solemn agreement, as the Germans did when they invaded Belgium, or, the miners might retort, as the President did when he consented to the annexation of the Southern Tyrol by Italy and to indemnity items not provided for in the armistice agreement. In so mixed a world as the present a broken agreement is not sufficient to throw the case of either a union or a President out of court, but it does certainly prejudice the case. The time will come, we hope, when organized labor will keep its agreements, and employ its moral force rather in controlling the kind of agreements made.

WHAT is happening in Italy will remain a bewildering puzzle until matters have settled down and the history of the late months has been analyzed by students less excitable than the cable correspondents. It is obvious that more and more of the factories of Italy are being seized and operated by the workers, without the owners' consent; but how efficiently are they producing? One such concern has just launched a destroyer for the government; another is turning out aeroplanes as usual; a third continues to produce automobile parts and assemble them. We are told of arrangements with the cooperative stores to take the product of factories seized by the workers and to accept labor checks in payment for articles of consumption. The owners have practiced what the Bolsheviki of Russia describe as sabotage. They have carried away their order books, so that the workers might not know where to make deliveries, and the technical and managerial officials, whose interests are naturally allied with those of the employers, hold themselves aloof. The government keeps hands off, preferring that this novel experiment in industrial organization work itself out without bloodshed, rather than run the risk of revolution involved in forcibly restoring the owners to their property. Whither the movement is tending is uncertain. For the present the workers show no disposition to compromise merely on the basis of increased wages. They demand a share in the control of the industry. No doubt there are many communists among them who hope to inaugurate a Soviet regime, but the available information throws doubt on the frequent assertions of the correspondents that this is essen-

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tially a Bolshevik uprising. Nevertheless, the future must look stormy to the Italian profiteer who had hoped to shine the rest of his days from out of his heap of war winnings.

PROSPECTS for early peace between Poland and Russia do not appear especially bright. The Polish commissioners have set out for Riga with the intention of capitalizing their recent victories and forcing upon Russia a boundary one hundred miles east of the line tentatively fixed at Versailles. This would add to their territory, roughly speaking, fifty thousand square miles, in which even according to Polish estimates, the proportion of Polish inhabitants is only one-quarter. The remaining population consists of Jews, whose desire to fall under Polish rule is probably not very vivid, and "White Ruthenians," whom we used to call "White Russians," a stock less differentiated from the Great Russians and less consciously separatist than any other that the statesmen have attempted to wrest away from Russia. It may be, of course, that this claim of Poland is presented merely for the sake of abating it for a proper consideration. But recent history does not justify us in expecting shrewd trading sense from the Poles when blown up by recent success. They are likely to insist too much, and in insisting, to give Russian militarism a moral basis for an attack on Poland with forces more substantial than those which recently came to grief. And in that event it will be the Russians who will exhibit immoderate greed, being blown up by success. However the game inclines, the cost will be disastrous to the peasants and workmen on both sides.

WASHINGTON, everlastingly confident in its wisdom, informs The Times that "reliable reports from Russia, received through official channels"—hence of course thoroughly reliable—say that Russia is economically in a very bad way, and that the peasants are very restive but too greatly intimidated to rise in rebellion. They discredit predictions that the Bolshevik regime will come to an end in six months, "together with all other specific predictions." They assert that the Bolsheviki are passing through a serious crisis, but that "foreign aggression, such as the Polish offensive, helped them to rally and hold out for a time against the processes of disintegration" which are nevertheless going on. "The Bolsheviki are reported to be greatly disheartened, having obtained nothing essential in the way of concessions from the powers, and expecting nothing." The policy of Washington, we see, is being justified by the event. No aggression and no dealings with Russia until the Bolsheviki get disheartened and die. Then we shall cash in on our record of true friendship for Russia, when dreams come true.

EMPLOYEE representation in corporate directorship is to be given a trial by the Procter and Gamble Company. At each of the three plants of the company the qualified employees will nominate five representatives from whom the stockholders will elect one to the directorate, presumably, but not necessarily, the one receiving the highest vote. Representatives must be thirty years of age or over and must have been in the service of the company for at least three years. The innovation will be worth watching. It is conceivable that Procter and Gamble may be taking the first step toward what may amount in the end to a revolution in our scheme of industrial organization. Down to the present it has been assumed that if the directors take care of capital and profits, labor and wages will take care of themselves. Considerations of profit, occasionally supplemented by non-economic considerations, such as philanthropy or revenge, have determined whether a shop should run on full time, or half time, or be closed down altogether. Perhaps in future the workers will be given a vote on this point corresponding with their vital interest in it.

INSTEAD of a cash bonus, or "readjusted compensation," as he prefers to call it, Governor Cox would give every man who saw service with the colors a chance to become an owner of real estate. He points to the platform, which pledges the enactment of legislation for soldier settlement and home aid, without encumbrance of red tape or advance financial investment. "That platform," says Cox, "I regard as a promissory note, and I shall see that it is paid, every dollar and every cent." The American taxpayer, therefore, ought to take the matter seriously and figure on the cost. Suppose a million soldiers availed themselves of the terms of the promissory note. A decent farm home, such as might appeal to a man who is satisfactorily employed, as most of the soldiers are today, could not be provided for less than $10,000. Not much of a cottage can be provided for the urban worker for less than $5,000. Something between five billions and ten billions appears to be due on this promissory note. True, Cox probably contemplates a loan of capital, not a gift outright; but a loan to men who are not carefully selected (selection would mean "red tape") and who make no "advance financial investment," merges insensibly with gifts. There is a deal to be said for a policy of national aid in the establishment of homes, for

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soldiers and for civilians who can make the investment profitable for themselves and for the nation, but no workable policy of that character is deducible from the Democratic platform's "promissory note."

HARDING'S confession of faith in conservation would carry more credit if his talk sounded a bit less like the current Mountain State propaganda for the quick transfer of the remains of our national domain to private speculators. "The problem of our Far West is one of wisely directed development rather than of too much conservation." "Emphasis must be placed upon their use (that of water supplies) rather than upon their storage." "In some places private capital, in others public funds, can best do the work that is required." Shall we translate, some projects will pay and others will not? Nobody in the country wants natural resources held indefinitely out of use. If water can be put on the lands, everybody wants it put there. But the real conservationist wishes to be assured that between the government, which still holds the land and the water, and the ultimate settler who will make the land yield fruits, there shall appear no private speculator to skim off the profit of the undertaking. The speculator is on the ground, clamoring loudly for a chance to "utilize" the neglected resources. Away from his mountain domain, he talks seductively, with great show of public spirit. Has he succeeded in taking Harding in? Harding's speech sounds as if he had been taken in.

## The Democratic Party and the Liberal Vote

RECENTLY the New York World published a fine letter from Mr. Myron M. Johnson of Hartford, appealing to the liberal voter on behalf of Cox. You may intend to repudiate the Wilson administration, said Mr. Johnson, but what you will do is to repudiate the Wilson ideals. You wish to condemn his Russian policy and the Treaty of Versailles, but you cannot do so by conniving at the election of Harding. He does not object to what you object to. He does not mind the bad faith or criticize Wilson for it. He would not only have behaved at least as illiberally as Wilson, but he would have raised no standard of ideals by which to judge his own work. Wilson's ideals may condemn Wilson's achievement, but Harding's achievement could be no better and his ideals would be worse.

"The Democratic party," he says, "is blundering and incompetent sometimes, and its leaders often fail to live up to its high ideals. But the Democratic party has a broader and kindlier outlook upon the world than has the Republican party."

There is a measure of truth in this defense of the Democrats. In spite of the Southern Bourbon and the Northern Tammany, in spite of Western Republican progressivism, there is less opposition in the Democratic party to mild progressive measures than in the Republican. But the modicum of truth does not mean that Democrats are by nature "broader and kindlier" than Republicans. It is of a more definite and practical kind. The machine Democracy in the South and in the big cities cannot win a national election without large progressive support. In order to win they need more often a "broader and kindlier" appeal to independent and liberal voters. It was that appeal which gave them victory in 1916. The Republicans, on the other hand, if they are united, can win without pandering to liberalism. When they have their progressives thoroughly housebroken, as at present, they can poll their full party vote. They have a better chance than the Democrats of electing a frankly "stand pat" candidate like Harding running on a frankly "stand pat" platform.

There is nothing intrinsically liberal about the Democrats and Democracy. They simply need the independent and liberal vote somewhat more than do the Republicans, and are obliged more frequently to bid for it at election time. Cox is bidding for it now as Wilson did in 1916, but surely under such conditions the attractiveness of the bid depends primarily upon the fulfillment of past promises. Liberals have nothing to gain by being courted before election only to be betrayed after election. They will not persuade the Democratic party to be more liberal by supporting it after it has proved false to its promises of liberalism. Defeat rather than victory will teach the Democrats to take liberalism seriously. If, after the experience of the past two years—after Russia, Versailles, Burleson and Palmer — liberals again vote the Democratic ticket on the theory that Republicans will behave worse, they will throw away their only weapon of influence. They will have rendered themselves as negligible in the Democratic party as Mr. Hoover did in the Republican party when he preferred regularity to progressivism rather than progressivism to regularity. They will become, like Mr. Gompers and his followers, a mere annex to the Democratic machine. Once they continue orthodox and regular under supreme provocation, they serve notice that they may be safely ignored. The only way in which they

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can testify to the need and practical importance of liberalism is to rebuke its betrayal. The liberal this year is in an analogous position to the suffragists when they wisely adopted the strategy of putting the onus on the party in power. Under a two party system the party which professes liberalism and betrays it is the party which needs to suffer.

When the Democrats nominated as their candidate a man like Governor Cox, who was not associated with the bad faith of Mr. Wilson's leadership of the party, there was a chance that in spite of the negative platform and the deplorable record of the party in office, he might do or say something to earn the confidence of liberals. They might overlook the party and its record, because its new candidate impressed them as a man of sincere liberal convictions. But if Mr. Cox has done anything or said anything since his nomination to earn the confidence of liberals, beyond repeating the tamest platitudes of Victorian progressivism, we have not run across any report of them. He is feeding the American people with straw or at best some extremely skimmed milk at a time when they are under-nourished and need whole wheat bread and good red meat. His version of liberalism has no edge, no sting and no bite. Although he is running against a Republican candidate who is extremely vulnerable, he never attacks his opponent for a clearly complacent attitude toward specific and immediate abuses, and he never frankly pledges himself to work for specific remedies. Instead, for instance, of promising to work unceasingly for the abolition of the twelve-hour day in the steel industry, or to obtain for the American wage-earner a minimum subsistence wage, he contents himself with generalities, which can be safely ignored after election. Instead of promising to expose profiteering by pressing Congress to make public the official records of its gross examples, he weakly submits to the prevailing propaganda by business in favor of the repeal of the excess profits taxes and by favoring a consumption tax as a substitute, repudiates one of the few sound economic traditions of his own party. The whole tendency of his campaign has been not to emphasize but to slur the difference between himself and Harding. By making the Republican campaign fund his dominant issue, he is hoping to gain votes without paying for them with specific pledges, and in this way to conceal his failure to give reality to his own pretentions to liberal statesmanship.

The liberal who for these reasons rejects Cox fortunately does not need to stultify himself by voting for Harding. If a sufficient number of liberals merely refrain from voting the Democratic ticket, they will teach the Democrats the necessary lesson. Where they place their votes, so long as they do not connive at Democratic success, does not matter much this year. They cannot vote for measures or policies; there are none which have any meaning. It is purely a politicians' mêlée. The only way in which liberals can use voting power in the present election is to insist that one set of insincere progressive politicians lose, even though another set of sincerely reactionary politicians win. A defeat of that kind is a lesson which politicians would understand.

A worthy business it is not. That was decided for us at Chicago and San Francisco. The next President of the United States will be either a man who pays a lip service to liberalism or a man and a party who are candidly, though not intelligently, conservative. It is not a brilliant choice, but if it were exclusive, if the liberal had to choose with a pistol at his head and if he had not, as he has, a chance to vote a sheer protest, then he would, we think, have as many reasons for preferring candor, whatever its consequences, to hypocrisy. A Harding acting through a Lodge would have some advantages as well as some disadvantages over a Wilson acting through a Palmer. In the former case the liberal would know just what to expect. No one would be disillusioned. No ideals would be cheapened, no aspirations made contemptible. If reactionary politicians are to govern the country, it is well that no one should mistake them for anything else.

## Harding On Agriculture

THE American public, at least the city dwelling part of the public, can hardly be said to be alive to the existence of a national agricultural problem of first-rate importance. We have heard so often that the natural resources of America are boundless that we have come to believe it. What need was there to bother about the food supply when our infinite plains could feed the world, if necessary? And so we shaped our national policies, or lacking policies, let chance shape the events with very little reference to agricultural conditions. By our protective tariffs, by our system of railroad rates, we built up the town at the cost of the country, the city at the cost of the town, as if we supposed that there never could be any difficulty about the food supply. We never reflected that in an ultimate sense our agriculture was not a solvent industry. We mined out the fertility of the soil remorselessly. We mined out, equally remorse-

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lessly, the home building instincts of the original rural population. The farmer might cling to his acres, in spite of prices that did not offer a living comparable to the earnings of industry. But the farmers' sons could not be expected to do so. Hence a steady drain upon precisely the elements in the rural population that might have vitalized both the economic and social life of the open country.

And now we are beginning to face the consequences. Food, after being too cheap, has become inordinately dear, yet there is no perceptible response to the stimulus of high prices. The immediate prospect is one of declining production. America stands on the divide between the condition of supplies abundant enough for steady exportation and the condition of supplies occasionally running so short as to require resort to foreign sources already mortgaged to the needs of the over-industrialized European nations.

It is to be said to the credit of Mr. Harding that he at least recognizes the seriousness of this state of affairs and the necessity of a systematic agricultural policy. Unlike Cox, he does not put all his trust in the miracles to be wrought by a "dirt farmer" as Secretary of Agriculture. The policy Harding outlined in his address of September 8th may be wanting in point of adequacy, but it is none the less worth attention.

What Harding proposes is, first, better representation of farmers in government counsels; second, cooperative associations for the sale of farm products; third, reduction of fluctuations in the price of farm products through scientific study of farming costs and the conditions of the markets; fourth, elimination of governmental price fixing for farm products; fifth, the promotion of ownership by a liberal administration of the Farm Loan act, and by the authorization of associations for personal credit; sixth, improved transportation; and, seventh, protective duties on farm products when the current of trade turns from exports to imports.

Of these proposed measures, the first is mainly of sentimental value and political appeal. The second is of significance. To a certain extent such associations are hampered by legal uncertainties. Are they under the ban of the Sherman act or are they not? The national government can remove that uncertainty. But that is only a small item in the difficulties under which the cooperative movement among farmers labors. There is inertia and inexperience to overcome; there is the opposition of the "middleman," who holds important strategic advantages in the way of easier and more certain credit, and above all, in an established machinery for buying and selling. Does Mr. Harding propose to develop the work of the Department of Agriculture toward helping the farmers' cooperative movement to overcome these difficulties? If he does, it would be pertinent to say it.

As to the fourth measure, it is difficult to see what even the most scientific study of costs and markets could do toward stabilizing prices. Unfortunately, fluctuations in supply and in price appear to be inherent in agriculture. England tried stabilization, and succeeded in a measure, in the days of the Corn Laws, but then England was prevailingly an importer of grain. Brazil has established something like stability in coffee prices through "valorization." Our American products hardly admit of any scheme of impounding the surplus of good years in order to control their value.

The fifth measure is of only hypothetical importance. Harding admits that perhaps we needed price fixing in time of war. Except under the war power there can be no price fixing that would stand the test of constitutionality, and the war power will disappear if Mr. Harding manages to make peace.

Greatest immediate importance attaches to the sixth proposal, to promote farm ownership by the administration of the Farm Loan act. Too much of our best land has fallen to the system of tenant farming. The problem is to transform the tenants into owners. It is difficult, with land prices high, but not impossible, as the experience of the European nations abundantly proves. But will easy loans alone do the trick?

There is a serious difficulty here. The price of farm land is not a definite capital item, calculated from net yield. It is easily forced upward by any force that multiplies the number of buyers. And that is precisely what the Farm Loan act, even in its limited field of operation, is now doing. By virtue of the act the tenant who wishes to buy his holding gets easier interest terms. But he is not at all unlikely to have to pay a correspondingly higher price for his land. Thus the substantial benefit of the system is appropriated by the original landowner. And this diversion of benefits can not be easily remedied, except by a policy of state purchase at prices officially fixed, as commonly in European states, or through a scheme of taxation calculated to discourage ownership of farm land by others than those who till it. Such remedies, it is true, fall within the legislative domain reserved to the states. But Harding has announced his wish to cooperate with the state governments wherever possible. Why does he not propose to cooperate here, where neither the federal nor the state governments, acting alone, can meet the whole public need?

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With regard to the seventh proposed measure, protective duties, it may be said that it can be effective, for good or for evil, only after we have become prevailingly an importing nation. And when that time has come, we shall already have lost our battle for self-sufficiency in food production. Protectionism may transform a state dependent on imported manufactures into one whose role is that of exporter. It has never yet restored the position of producer of surplus food, once that position has been lost.

## Tilden's Two Championships

ONLY once before 1920 have the English and American lawn tennis championships been held by the same man. Tilden, who has repeated H. L. Doherty's performance, therefore deserves to be ranked, by every imaginable ranking committee, first among all this year's players. Since the outdoor season began he has lost only one match, to Johnston at Queen's Club, and he has beaten Johnston twice, at Forest Hills and last week at Philadelphia. At Norwich, in England, Johnston lost to Williams, whom Tilden has not played this year. In the final Davis cup tie Tilden beat both Parke and Kingscote more easily than Johnston beat them. Parke, who beat Johnston at Wimbledon, lost to Tilden there in straight sets. Look at the record from any standpoint you choose, the conclusion is the same: Tilden must be ranked first.

Whether he is also the best living player is of course not quite the same question. It is not easy, for anybody who has to judge partly by reports, to choose between Tilden's play, in no matter which of his matches, Williams's play against Brugnon at Wimbledon or against Griffin at Philadelphia, and Johnston's against Gobert in the Davis cup tie against France at Eastbourne. As to two of the traits that give feature to Tilden's game there is, however, no dispute. He has a greater variety of strokes than anyone else. He has the fastest and most formidable service ever seen on a lawn tennis court. Nobody else has ever made anywhere near so many service aces, and in at least two of his matches at Forest Hills, against Wallace Johnson and Johnston, only the extraordinary guessing and agility of his opponents kept many of their nets and outs from appearing in the score as more service aces for Tilden. Time and again they did well even to touch the ball with their racquets.

Is Tilden's forehand stroke off the ground the fastest in all lawn tennis history? Is it faster than S. H. Smith's was, say fifteen to twenty years ago? We do not believe the question can be answered one way or the other. Of all international players Smith had the best record against our men. None of our volleyers was successful against him. His forehand drive either passed them outright, or came to them within reach at such a pace that they found accurate volleying impossible. This is evidence, of a kind, but it does not prove that Johnston could not have volleyed Smith, had the two players flourished in the same epoch. Many good observers say they never saw such volleying as Johnston's in the second, third and fourth sets of his match against Tilden for the championship. Following his service to a position about a yard inside the service court, he would make beautiful low volleys to either side, hiding his direction until such a late moment as to deceive the quickest eye, killing nearly every ball that came to him higher than his waist. His skill in anticipating and his mobility, particularly toward his backhand line, were as remarkable as his power to make offensive shots off the most difficult balls. These three sets would have been enough to convince most opponents that they could not win against a game so unflinching and so severe. It is high praise of Tilden's courage to say that he remained unconvinced. It is no disparagement of Tilden's game to say that he would probably not have won but for his marked superiority in service.

And although it is true that Tilden has the greatest variety of strokes, that he has more kinds of strokes to choose from when dealing with any given ball, is it not equally true that Williams, more than any other player, can do the fewer things he wants to do off more kinds of ball? Not only are Williams's cross-court shots made at sharper angles than anybody else's, but he can bring off these shots, which strike within inches of the sidelines astonishingly near the net, from a greater variety of positions. Some of his cross-court passes travel at an angle so acute that they look mechanically impossible. So quick is he upon the ball, so soon does he hit it after it has left the ground, that many of his strokes do not need all the pace he gives them. At his best, seen this year only in runs of a few games at a time, Williams is quite as good as before the war. Unfortunately, his best seldom lasts so long as it used to last. Nor is this the only difference. In the old days his outs were out by inches, his nets just missed being netcorders. This year more of his errors have erred by a wider margin. He has always made them as freely on easy as on difficult shots. Nevertheless, when Williams is at the top of his game we should still pick him, contrary to prevailing opinion, to win against either Johnston or Tilden.

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Such an assertion, to be sure, cannot mean a great deal. No two of the foremost players ever meet on a day when each is quite at his best. It is probably true, of each of the best four or five players in the world, that none has been beaten when he was playing his best tennis. Much of the comment on match-playing is still written, unfortunately, by persons who forget the implications of the maxim that both men cannot win. There is a tendency, from which the accounts of the Johnston-Tilden match were conspicuously free, to attribute a kind of moral superiority to the victor.

> They that in play can do the thing they would,
> Having an instinct throned in reason's place,
> And every perfect action hath the grace
> Of indolence or thoughtless hardihood—
> These are the best.

Most of our lawn tennis critics, and most of our lawn tennis crowds, are not of the poet's way of thinking. They prefer players of the opposite type. They prefer character. In their eagerness to have the best man win they overlook the claims of the better player. Given two players of equal skill, the one having the sturdier courage will win. This is the truth our crowds and our critics cherish. Given two players of equal courage, the more skilful will win. This is the other truth, by no means negligible, that they tend to neglect. Which explains why our most popular champions have always been obviously courageous persons, men of heart, hearts of oak, and why our new champion, who is evidently sensitive, nervous, experimental, light-hearted and capricious, is not yet very popular with crowds.

## Traction Service at Cost

TWO decades ago, a great part of the current controversy about public utilities and their relation to the community turned about the notion of contract. The great traction interests in the earlier and happier days of political liberality had obtained long term or perpetual franchises authorizing them to charge fares which the subsequent cheapening of transit costs had rendered enormously profitable. In the face of a growing popular clamor against traction monopolies, the sanctity of these franchises became to the fortunate possessors, and indeed to the moneyed community generally, a prime article of faith. They were solemn covenants binding in law and in honor, and there was deep indignation in respectable circles against those unprincipled enemies of the Constitution who were gaining the ascendency in legislatures and city councils, and against those weak-kneed judges who permitted them to lay unhallowed hands upon the five-cent fare.

Today the situation is strangely reversed. The five-cent fare is no longer profitable. Perpetual fixed fare franchises have become a liability rather than an asset. Great metropolitan traction systems are in receivership and earning a recurring annual deficit. No wonder, since the cost of labor has increased from 85 to 90 per cent, and the cost of essential materials anywhere from 35 per cent to 560 per cent. The solemn covenant has lost its monetary value, and at the same time it seems to have lost both its solemnity and its binding quality.

Today we hear from the moneyed community and its spokesmen that after all a franchise, however perpetual and binding in form, is no more than a temporary device for achieving a specific end, namely adequate traction service. Where it no longer achieves this end, it is not only foolish but unprincipled to insist upon the terms of the contract. We are asked to take a practical view of the matter. If the city expects to get efficient, reliable transit service, it must pay the price. A contract, however binding, cannot furnish cars and rails and conductors when there is no money to pay for them. A flexible fare and a theory of service at cost, is the only true principle of street railway regulation, and the fare must be high enough to pay wages and expenses at the present high level, and rehabilitate the shaken financial structure of the street railway industry. The principle of a reasonable return upon a fair valuation, once the exclusive property of reformers and radicals, has thus been captured by the traction interests.

It is impossible not to agree with the Federal Electric Railways Commission that the theory of the contract fare is unsound. If we could be sure of a prolonged period of stationary costs and uniform revenues, it might be satisfactory enough, but the progress of invention, changes in the density and distribution of the population, fundamental alterations in the status of labor, no less than more spectacular fluctuations due to the war, change the situation completely. For a quarter of a generation the cost of city traction was steadily falling. The period was marked by persistent political agitation for four and three cent fares, leading to bitter political and legal controversies between communities and traction interests. Since the beginning of the war costs have steadily risen, leaving a wreckage of insolvent franchise corporations in their wake.

There is more to be said upon the subject, however. Admit that as an original question the con-

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tract fare is unsound. Is it just to the community, however, to enforce the contract rigidly when it means opulence to the traction interests, and to discover its unsoundness only when it works to their disadvantage? A fixed fare traction contract has never been more than a gigantic gamble. Where costs have fallen, the companies have made fortunes; where costs have risen, they have faced insolvency. Admit that gambling is immoral; yet it is even more immoral to pocket the gains when you are winning, and repudiate the contract when you begin to lose.

Nor is the service at cost theory as attractive a substitute, from the public point of view, as it now appears to the entranced imagination of the starving traction magnate. What is cost? What the traction company pays, or what it ought to pay? Obviously the latter, if there is to be any check upon extravagance. But if the regulating commission is to determine what the service ought to cost, it must assume responsibility for the wages paid to labor, and for the prices paid for equipment and supplies, and must keep an eagle's eye upon every corporate expenditure. Where there is a difference of opinion, it must be ready to substitute its judgment for the judgment of professional traction operators. Otherwise cost will soon come to mean whatever the traction company chooses to make it. There can be no permanent midway policy between complete abdication and virtual government operation. The former means a riot of unrestrained expenditure with a virtually guaranteed return. The latter means a dual control which can only end in deadlock and paralysis.

That the fare must be high enough to rehabilitate traction company finances is emphasized by the advocates of the service at cost plan. What does this mean? The Electric Railways Commission has enumerated fifteen factors which are responsible for the present financial plight of the street railways. Some of them, such as the five-ıt fare, limited franchises and undue taxation, ɔerhaps the fault of the public, and it is proper c the public should pay the cost of eliminat-ng them. But the enumeration includes the following: overcapitalization and watered stock; neglect to amortize excess capitalization; failure to maintain a normal depreciation reserve; payment of unearned dividends and neglect of ordinary maintenance; "overbuilding into unprofitable territory or to promote real estate enterprises involved sometimes with political improprieties." Must the public always pay the cost of rehabilitating finances undermined by the peculations of traction managers? That is what the service at cost principle means. It means that because past mismanagement and financial piracy have helped to break down the credit of street railway corporations, therefore the public should pay the timid investor an additional increment to overcome his fear of further wrong-doing on the part of these corporations.

Upon the subject of municipal ownership the Commission is conservative to the point of timidity. "Some members of the Commission individually feel that eventually municipal ownership might prove generally desirable, and that there may perhaps be communities in the United States in which, on account of the responsibility of the local government and the acuteness of the present conditions, municipal ownership should be resorted to." The principle, so pregnant with possibility, of tri-partite control, as embodied in the Railway Brotherhoods' plan of railway reorganization, is not even mentioned. The difficulties of such a program we are not inclined to overlook. Probably the unions which represent traction employees, being still in many communities in the midst of desperate battles for existence and recognition, are not yet ready for a solution which calls for so much discipline and constructive effort on their part. Yet such a plan does overcome the fundamental dilemma of the modern traction problem. By public ownership, it substitutes the solid credit of the state for the dubious credit of corporations ruined in part at least by past mismanagement and corruption. It renders possible a true system of service at cost, with the proceeds of operation so distributed between labor, management and public as to promote efficiency without profiteering. Such projects as the Plumb plan are as yet crude and undeveloped; it is unfortunate that the Commission did not give them the benefit at least of an intelligent and open-minded criticism.

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# Is the Non-Partisan League Declining?

THE results of the recent primaries in Minnesota and North Dakota (the heart of the Non-Partisan League territory) were a surprise to almost every one. The Leaguers were themselves least prepared for the turn of events, for before the primaries they were confident that they would carry both states by good margins. Their opponents were also upset in their expectations, for they had anticipated that the regular Republican factions would probably win in North Dakota and lose in Minnesota. The results were just the reverse of this, although the League victory in North Dakota was only a partial one. The League lost three state officers (more than one-third of the total number) and failed to renominate and nominate two out of three representatives in Congress. For this loss it was somewhat compensated by the success of its candidate for the Senate (Mr. Ladd), who won over the present Republican incumbent, Mr. Gronna. Owing to the narrowness of the Republican margin in the United States Senate, this victory may give the League considerable power in national politics. But on the other hand, it failed to nominate a majority of the candidates for the state legislature, which is indeed serious in its portent. Governor Frazier, very popular with the farmers, and able, won his renomination by a majority of six thousand, reduced from eight thousand two years ago.

Not a single state executive or administrative official was nominated by the League in Minnesota this year, although it succeeded in placing one nominee on the ticket two years ago. However, it did nominate one candidate for representative in Congress (later disqualified in the courts for having charged his opponent—Mr. Volstead of prohibition fame—with being an infidel), and one candidate for the state supreme court, a labor attorney of St. Paul. Compared with the vote of two years ago the League vote in Minnesota this year does not offer its membership much encouragement. With only two Republican candidates for governor in the field in the 1918 primaries, the League candidate polled 43 per cent of the Republican votes. This year, with six Republican candidates in the running, the League candidate polled barely 40 per cent of the total Republican vote, or 48 per cent of the vote given to the two leading Republican candidates. Since most of the Republican contestants were anti-League, this last percentage is too favorable to the League. If candidates not hostile to the League be compared with those unfriendly to it, we find that the former, including the regular League candidate, received only 43 per cent of the total Republican vote, the same proportion given to the League alone two years ago. Since more Democrats (the minority party) voted the Republican primary ticket than voted their own ticket—not an unusual occurrence, owing to the open character of the primaries—it is necessary to compare the total votes of the two parties together to get the complete significance of the vote favorable to the League. Two years ago the League candidate for governor polled 37 per cent of the combined Republican and Democratic vote in Minnesota. This year he secured 38 per cent of this combined vote, thus showing an apparent small gain in strength. A better comparison, however, is between all candidates of both parties, friendly and unfriendly, to the League program. In 1918 the friendly candidates polled 44 per cent of the votes, while in 1920 they received only 40 per cent of all votes cast, a decline of four per cent in the forces which might be counted upon to support a League candidate in the final elections. Apparently, therefore, on practically all counts, in Minnesota as well as in North Dakota, the Non-Partisan League can claim fewer friends in the two old parties than was possible for it to claim two years ago.

As a result of these primaries the opponents of the League have begun to take renewed courage, although one of their dailies has said editorially that the vote in Minnesota was "too close for comfort," and another has urged the regular Republicans against over-confidence in the result. That the Leaguers are considerably discouraged, there can also be no doubt. However, they are planning to place independent candidates in the field in both states for the November elections by means of petitions and to make an active campaign. They claim that they will be able to retrieve their partly shattered fortunes in North Dakota, and that they have a good chance to win the governorship and attorney-generalship in Minnesota (with respect to which offices they fell behind the regular Republican candidates in the recent primaries, only 8,000 and 1,500 respectively). They also hope to have a large representation in the Minnesota state legislature, since they nominated candidates in 78 out of a total of 86 counties in the state. They have 90 nominees for 131 memberships in the lower house, while the regular Republicans have practi-

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cally a full quota of nominees. Two years ago the League had 87 nominees for the lower house and elected 27 of them, but this year it may do better.

The apparent decline in League fortunes must be attributed to a number of causes, some of them obvious, and others more difficult to discern. The Leaguers themselves explain it by the single word, "over-confidence." A few days before the North Dakota primaries I talked with a League member prominent in party affairs, and he was certain that North Dakota was "cinched," as he put it. So certain were the League leaders of North Dakota that they put forth their best campaign efforts in Minnesota, largely neglecting the former state until a few days before the election. Another reason for failure, at least as important, is the growing confusion of the farmers with regard to the merits of the situation. In the beginning their movement stood out in clear relief to their minds. They placed all opponents in the category of devils, and all friends in that of angels, but now they are having a hard time distinguishing angels from devils. In North Dakota three leading state officials turned against the organization after it had elected them to office two years ago. They said they did not repudiate the principles of the League, but only the leadership of Mr. Townley. Mr. Townley denounced them as "traitors" or devils. They claimed to be the only true angels in the political fold. Their spokesman, Attorney-General Langer, even ran for governor, and his two insurgent colleagues ran for renomination on this contention; one of them, Secretary of State Hall, winning in the primary. Thus, League solidarity was destroyed in North Dakota, and it is not strange that confusion of judgment arose from the resulting factionalism and sailing under false colors.

Also, pretty conclusive evidence has been brought forward by the opposition to show that many or most of the prominent leaders and organizers of the League are former Socialists. To the more conservative farmers and small townsmen who have come through the war propaganda to think of Socialist, pacifist, pro-German and traitor as synonomous terms, this has served to condemn the movement. They do not pause to reflect that these men abandoned the Socialist party before or during the war to join a practical reform movement, because they felt themselves more at home in it. Increased taxation has also been an unfavorable factor of some importance, at least in North Dakota. Although taxes increased more markedly in Minnesota, which is not controlled by the Non-Partisan League, than in North Dakota, the fact that taxes in the latter state jumped approximately 100 per cent has produced its effect there. North Dakotans are not particularly well informed or interested with regard to Minnesota tax conditions. They do know about North Dakota, however. Nor is this the first time that high taxes have helped kill a progressive movement; witness the political upheaval in Wisconsin a few years ago. Also, the League has recently been taking on "airs" and has, whether rightly or not laid itself open to charges of extravagance. This summer Mr. Townley campaigned the states of Minnesota and North Dakota in a $10,000 aeroplane. The reason assigned for this was that only thus could he cover all the territory adequately and make three addresses daily. His critics cried extravagance and intimated that he now felt himself out of the class of the common people. No doubt many of the farmers thought so too. I am convinced that Mr. Townley's use of this aeroplane as a means of campaigning was a great mistake.

Other difficulties which have added their quota to the causes of apparent decline of the League's prestige, perhaps not individually so great, but important collectively, are not wanting. Among these is the fact that the Non-Partisan League has allowed itself in a number of cases to get mixed up in local factional fights, thus inevitably making enemies. Any movement necessarily accumulates enemies for itself from a multiplicity of causes as time passes, and the League has not been an exception to this rule. Also, long continued propaganda by the opposition press against the supposed autocratic leadership of Mr. Townley has gradually sunk into receptive minds and weakened the League's strength here and there. The psychological fact that the attacking party has the dramatic advantage in a fight of this sort also cannot be overlooked. The defense, because it is mainly negative, must always appear weak, and in this case the chief defense against virulent attacks has been an abstract one—an economic program which can make its complete answer to criticism only after years of trial. Nor must the truth that the farmers of these two states are now fairly prosperous be ignored as a potent factor. Conservative as the farmer usually is, he acts largely on the simple social philosophy of let well enough alone. This fact is well illustrated by maps of the states of North Dakota and Minnesota, showing where the League vote is located. In both states the heavy League following is to be found in the regions of lower priced and less well developed farm lands. Although the League carried 54 out of 86 counties in Minnesota in the gubernatorial campaign, the

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industrial and rich farming counties went almost as a unit for the more conservative candidate.

Wanting also, this year, is the enforced sense of solidarity among the farmers, produced two years ago by the attacks of the opposition upon the Leaguers as disloyalists and pro-Germans. Perhaps this accusation was then not wholly without point, but it made rather than discouraged votes for the League. A sort of echo of this attitude was to be found in this year's campaign. The League's candidate for lieutenant-governor was an army captain, one of Pershing's hundred heroes, so famed that his picture and his deeds had been represented on the liberty loan posters. Yet he ran far behind his ticket, although his opponent was only a corporal who had no comparable record. Perhaps this hero smacked too much of the war for some of the German and Scandinavian voters affiliated with the League to support him wholeheartedly. A very serious factor in the decline was undoubtedly the failure of large numbers of urban laborers to vote. This neglect is shown by some Socialist wards in Minneapolis, which fell off nearly one-third in their vote for the League candidate this year, as compared with two years ago. Although returning soldiers had swelled the population, the total vote had diminished. This vote alone, if it had been cast, would have insured the nomination of the League candidate for governor. The drift toward communism has been marked in the Twin Cities, especially in Minneapolis, and one hears workers say that soon the Non-Partisan League will be like all the rest; that the remedy doesn't lie through reform parties. There is no doubt but that the Non-Partisan League must contend with both radicals and conservatives in the future, if it is to win.

Frankly, the prospects for the League in the coming November elections are not flattering. The slump in North Dakota is not compensated for by the slight gains in Minnesota, and unless its North Dakota fortunes can be bettered at the final election a legislative deadlock will ensue in that state which will threaten or make impossible the progressive development of its economic program. In Minnesota prospects that the League will advance or hold its own are scarcely better. Much is hoped from the new daily, the Minnesota Star, owned and managed by more than 20,000 independent stockholders, and professed to be operated on an entirely independent policy. It is too early to predict what this newspaper may accomplish by way of giving publicity formerly denied to the farmer and labor movements. But it must be admitted that its smaller size (25 to 90 per cent of that of its leading competitors), a three cents price as against a competitive two cents, the fact that the readers who expected to get a radically different type of news are likely to be largely disappointed, simply because no newspaper can make news wholly according to orders, and the lack of adequate advertising support, may all together prove too great a handicap for the popular and financial success of this journalistic enterprise.

There is another obstacle to the success of the League in Minnesota. Whatever the organization at Chicago of a Farmer-Labor party may have meant to other groups in other places, it raised serious complications for the League in Minnesota. Anticipating a possible defeat at the primaries, the League had placed a dummy ticket on the ballot with candidates for governor and attorney-general, using the title "Farmer-Labor" for its ticket, to which it had earned a right by virtue of its independent campaign two years ago. It was understood that the dummy candidates would withdraw and allow the substitution by petition of the League candidates if they should be defeated at the primaries. But now the dummy candidates refuse to withdraw. The result is that the League candidates must go on the final ballot as "Independents," in competition, not only with the regular Republican nominees, but also, so far as party designations are concerned, with that national and state party which presumably is most favorable to League interests. With such complications the outlook of the League in Minnesota can scarcely be called bright. Yet, as the regular Republicans recognize, it cannot be ignored as non-existent.

While North Dakota and Minnesota are the strategic Non-Partisan League states, there are other states where it has prospects. In Wisconsin its candidates may win at the September primaries because of its fusion with the LaFollette forces, which are dominant in the Republican party of that state. Such a victory would do much to restore the prestige of the League in the Northwest. In Montana, where the League is tied up with the Democratic party as the dominant party of the state, there is a fighting chance for success, but it can scarcely be claimed that the control of the Democratic party under present circumstances is much of an asset. Factional troubles in South Dakota will probably render impossible a League victory in that state, and other states offer little more encouragement to the League. Of course, in the weeks before the November elections, the League may rally its strength and make substantial gains, but its task this year will not be an easy one.

C. R. JOHNSON.

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# Mr. Hitchcock Blows Out the Gas

IF I was a young man in college studying politics, meaning, as that would mean, of course, the politics of Plato and Aristotle, I would add a touch of actuality to the proceeding by writing a thesis for a doctorate with this leading caption: "Does He Blow Out the Gas?—Being an Inquiry Into the Habits and Activities of Frank H. Hitchcock Between Campaigns." I should not expect an undergraduate and an amateur to chart Mr. Hitchcock's activities while actively in a campaign. Even the professionals can't always do that.

Mr. Hitchcock is a piecework Warwick. He has a closed shop; he doesn't admit apprentices, nor does he belong to the professional politicians' union. He is a specialist. His lay is picking Presidential candidates. That is not only a piecework job, but essentially a seasonal occupation. Though Mr. Hitchcock has followed his precarious trade for some years—about fifteen, in fact—he is still free of any vocational stigmata. He is inscrutable, imperturbable, impenetrable and notably close-mouthed. He offers no more inviting avenue of approach for scrutiny and communication than a well made billiard ball. Not that he isn't civil, for he is; but that like Lord Tennyson's lady friend, he is splendidly regular, icily null. One never seems to get on, to get anywhere, no matter how prolonged the contact.

I know it is a horrid, vulgar little detail, but Mr. Hitchcock never sweats. Even at national conventions where, after two or three days, everybody wilts and begins to have the bedraggled aspect of something the cat has brought in, Mr. Hitchcock is as immaculate, as aloof, as speckllessly arrayed as one of the superior young men in the collar advertisements. He might have just come out of the hands of a vacuum cleaner. Always he is like that. He greets the embarrassed gods nor fears to shake the iron hand of Fate or atch with Destiny for beers—that sort of thing, you know what I mean. John Oakhurst plus young Talleyrand, plus a second carbon copy he Admirable Crichton, plus the house of Kuppenheimer—that is the general impression.

Ar nobody seems to know what is his little ga Apparently it is not money. He just seems t to back his fancy. He doesn't run in herds w or, as do the other politicians. He plays a lone and. He is always a figure apart. To me he is one of the most provocative, puzzling and intriguing figures in the great intricate game of national politics. He provokes curiosity and inquiry.

I can quickly set down the meagre data I have for an estimate. He was graduated from Harvard with the class of 1891. His first public job, I think, was as a timekeeper on the construction of the gray stone pile on Pennsylvania Avenue, that is the Post Office Department building at Washington. Then he was a clerk in the Department of Agriculture. John G. Capers told me one night at a public dinner when Hitchcock was there, that the then rising young man "used to sort bird feathers over at the Department of Agriculture." But that was only a bitter pleasantry. Capers and Hitchcock were not on good terms at the time, because of some difference over Republican politics in South Carolina.

However, Mr. Hitchcock is an amateur ornithologist of some repute, and a genuine bird lover with a respectable knowledge of bird lore. That was one of his points of contact with Theodore Roosevelt. This love of birds is his one revealing quality that I know about.

When I first knew Mr. Hitchcock he had left the Department of Agriculture and had come over to be chief clerk under Secretary Cortelyou of the then newly created Department of Commerce and Labor. He became a protegé and, in a sense, a disciple of Mr. Cortelyou, and followed in his footsteps. It was an understandable association. Any machine erected or constructed by either of these men ran on ball bearings and rubber tires. It never clanked. Clanking was a fault that neither of them could endure.

It was Mr. Cortelyou who put Mr. Hitchcock in politics. Cortelyou went on from the Department of Commerce and Labor to manage Roosevelt's campaign, and became Postmaster-General. Four years later Hitchcock managed Taft's campaign and became, in turn, Postmaster-General. Since then he has been on his own.

Every fourth year that can be evenly divided by two, that is, every Presidential campaign year, brief, fugitive dispatches under Southern date lines begin to appear in the newspapers. They say in substance: Mr. Hitchcock was here yesterday conferring with local Republican politicians. He declined to be interviewed or to discuss the purpose of his visit. The gossips and politicians at Washington read these, and begin to say: "Hitchcock is rounding up the Southern delegates." He is reputed to be a master hand with them.

I have heard many vague stories of how the twigs are limed for Southern delegates to Republican national conventions; how these wary, shy, sophisticated birds are captured and held together until the people's choice is ratified, but never until this year have I come upon a definite narrative by an actual participant.

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The usual elusive fragmentary news came up from the South this year in the late winter and early spring. First it was rumored that Mr. Hitchcock was "for Lowden," but this was denied. The next surmise had him working for Wood, and when the fact did not materialize, Washington said in its expressive way: "Hitchcock has not lighted." He did not light until late, for it was mid-March before he became associated with the Wood campaign. This was after John T. King had been eliminated and after Colonel William Cooper Procter's methods of management had proved not so subtle and deft as the situation seemed to require.

Along in May the Senate decided to inquire into the pre-convention campaign expenses of the Presidential candidates, and Mr. Hitchcock was the very first witness called. Let me isolate here a part of the story he told and then go at once to the adventures of the Southern delegate hunter and follow the spoor. The Senators didn't get much out of Mr. Hitchcock. I quote pertinent bits:

"I came to them (the Wood people) under the condition, when I entered the campaign, that I should not be called upon to collect campaign funds, and I have followed that policy. After the announcement of my connection with the campaign, various people from time to time sent in checks to me, and I turned them over to the organization. The total of these checks did not exceed from $20,000 to $25,000 for the entire campaign.

"My function has been largely advisory, supervisory. I have endeavored to interest the political leaders of the country that I knew, friends of mine and men that I have known in previous campaigns, in the Wood cause. That has been my principal work."

"Suppose it was decided to set up contesting delegations (in the South), would that question be referred to you?"

"I have never set up any contesting delegations, and never intend to. I do not believe in that sort of thing.

"The principal contest that has developed since I have been in the movement is the contest in Georgia, and the organization in Georgia is headed by the state chairman, who is recognized by the national committee, and with the approval of the national committeeman, recognized by our national committee. That organization is being contested."

"How much money have you sent there?"

"I think a total from the Washington and New York headquarters of $10,000. At first $5,000 was sent, and then it was reported to us that the opposition in the state was flooding the state with money, and they asked for additional funds, and we sent $5,000 additional."

"What salaries do the Wood headquarters pay?"

"I do not know a single salary. I do not get any, naturally. I furnish my own room, and I have received no money whatever from the Wood organization for any purpose."

Now we can excuse Mr. Hitchcock and get on to Georgia. The people we will meet from down there are more communicative.

It was Mr. M. H. Karnes, a dealer in automobile parts, who came up from Atlanta to tell about Mr. Hitchcock's interest in Southern delegates and how it is manifested. I am afraid in the old days Mr. Karnes would have been called a "carpet-bagger." I do not vouch for the truth of his tale. It was told under oath and is a part of the records of the Senate. It may be as Monsieur Beaucaire put it, part true and part the most chaste art. From my general knowledge, I accept it in substance.

By way of preliminary it should be said that Roscoe Pickett, a white man, is chairman of the Republican State Central Committee in Georgia, and nominally the state "leader." Henry Lincoln Johnson is a Negro, and an aspirant for the leadership. Nearly all the Republican voters in Georgia are Negroes, and assets of Johnson. Karnes is a white man originally from Gallipolis, Ohio. He is a partisan of Johnson's. Here is his story in all its illuminating frankness, and in his own words:

"After coming back from the meeting of the Republican National Committee in Washington last December, it seems that Mr. Pickett had developed a Leonard Wood sentiment, and Lincoln Johnson had developed a Lowden sentiment. Naturally I have always been for Senator Harding, but we had agreed not to have any contests, and we were going to let the thing go along with a give-and-take proposition, so that in the state, where we could not function in November, we could at least have quiet in June, so we started out on that line.

"Then comes into the equation a certain set of men headed by Frank Hitchcock, known to the Southerners as General Hitchcock—they call him general down there. At that time he was not managing anything. Mr. King was managing the Leonard Wood campaign, and Mr. King had, I understand, given some money to Mr. Pickett to look after the Wood interests in Georgia, but Johnson had not received any money up to this time, but upon the advent of the Hitchcock faction into our state, headed by a banker by the name of Henry Blun, of Savannah, Ga., and Clark Greer, of Augusta, Ga. They were the active Georgians in the Hitchcock camp, and they came into the equation supported by Sidney Bieber, Washington, D. C."

"What is his business?"

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"I do not know. I think his business now is politics. Sidney Bieber and a man by the name of Joe Bean and a man by the name of Hammer or Hammell—I do not know his name, but he did not come until later—anyhow, these four, Greer, Blun, Bieber, and Bean represented Frank Hitchcock in Georgia politics. They sent for me, and I had a conference with Mr. Greer and Mr. Bieber. Mr. Blun, as banker, simply handled the financial end of the Hitchcock campaign. They told me the plan was to let us get along and all work together in aid of a delegation for Mr. Hitchcock.

"I asked Mr. Greer if Mr. Hitchcock was running for the Presidential nomination, and he said he was not, but he was a political broker, and 'Mr. Hitchcock's plan is this, Karnes'— this is what he said to me—

" 'Mr. Hitchcock's plan is this. The delegates from Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and the other Southern states will be in Mr. Hitchcock's control, and he will finance all the campaigns. They will not have to look to anybody else for any money. It will all come through the general (meaning Hitchcock) and when he gets to the Chicago convention he will have in his hand around ninety-seven votes, and he can get what he wants.'

"Our state central committee met on February 28th. Mr. Hitchcock at that time was still without a candidate. At this committee meeting Mr. Greer and his friends became very active, displaying a great amount of financial resources, which I will say astounded us fellows, as we had no idea there was that much money to go into the campaign in Georgia, especially from a man without a candidate for whom he was contending—that is to say, furnished by Frank Hitchcock to Mr. Greer, according to his statement to me."

"Did you see this money?"

"At one particular time. I never saw Mr. Greer have in his possession at any particular time more than $15,000 in cash at any of the district meetings."

"Do you mean to say you saw him have that much money?"

"That much money in cash."

"Did you count it?"

"I did not count it, but we were coming back—this was a little later. I will have to go a little ahead of my story there. We were coming back from the second district convention that had been held in the state, a place called Cartersville, in the seventh congressional district, at which the district convention had split, one side holding for uninstructed delegates, that is the side with which I was allied, the other side, engineered by Greer and Walter Ackerman, who was chairman of that district, holding for a Wood delegation.

"We were on the Pullman coming down from Cartersville to Atlanta, the evening after the convention, and Mr. Greer and Mr. Pickett were on, and I was all alone, and Mr. Pickett was dozing in one end of the car, and Mr. Greer came back and sat down by me and he said, 'This is the last chance that you will have to get right, because after what has happened today, unless you line up with us, you will not have a chance to get in the Chicago convention, and you won't get any place without money anyhow, and we are the fellows that have got the money.' I questioned him on that, and he said, 'Well, I will show you what I had prepared for this convention,' and he pulled out of his various pockets fifteen packets of new bills, labeled $1,000, as the bank puts them up, and I, of course, did not count them all, but it looked like $15,000.

"They were twenties and fifties, as far as I could see. This was after Hitchcock had taken the Wood campaign that I saw this money. Before he took the Wood campaign I never saw an agent of Hitchcock have more than $2,000."

And later Karnes swore:

"Then Mr. Greer talked to me about running as a delegate or as a candidate for delegate from the fifth district. I would not go because I would not make the race for the simple reason that I did not want to be pledged to abide by the decision of Frank H. Hitchcock, and that was the stipulation under which they wanted the delegate to run."

"You were not to run and be free to vote as you pleased, or run even pledged to a certain candidate, but you were to be a political—"

"Pawn for Hitchcock."

"Political pawn for Hitchcock, to be moved about by him."

"Exactly."

Well, there you are. I might go on and give details of the trafficking as they were related, but that would be aside from my present point. Mr. Hitchcock did not figure in the squalid details. He was not there.

What else he is interested in besides politics I don't know. Like a far off planetary body sweeping along its solitary orbit, he is discernible for a brief period every fourth year in the umbra or penumbra of some Presidential candidate. If he picks a dead one, as poor dear, he so frequently does, he goes out like a candle about the middle of June. This year he made a momentary reappearance in July. I heard of him as sitting on the front row when Harding was notified of his nomination at Marion. And even while we look he fades away into the void, softly, softly, softly.

What happens to him? Where does he go? There is your problem and your mystery.

EDWARD G. LOWRY.

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# The Socialist International

THE Congress of the Second International, which has just concluded its very successful week's session in this city, has made a notable stride onward, not only in the reconciliation and reunion of the organized working class movement throughout Europe, but also in the definition of the socialism on which it is agreed, and in its translation into a practical program.

In spite of all the revolutionary attraction exercised by Lenin and his so-called "Moscow International"; in spite, too, of the reports of disunity so diligently promulgated by the whole European press, the Congress at Geneva was attended by a score of different nationalities, officially represented by six times as many delegates, besides groups and sections present in a consultative capacity, or for information only. Certainly, in most countries, fractions or groups have broken away, but the delegates from Great Britain, Germany, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark, Holland and some other nations could report that either the whole or the vast majority of the organized working class and socialist movements, aggregating a membership of something like twenty millions, maintained their affiliation, whilst the majority in France and Switzerland is still hesitating. Norway and Spain have definitely withdrawn, the latter apparently under a misunderstanding; whilst the majority in Italy are definitely for withdrawal. Austria, Hungary and Czecho-Slovakia were simply absent.

The Congress, whilst not falling so far short in the number of nations represented, was numerically much smaller than the congresses, prior to the war, at Stuttgart, Copenhagen and Amsterdam, respectively. This falling off in numbers, (and indeed, the entire absence of Austria, Hungary, Czecho-Slovakia, Jugoslavia, and some others), is to be accounted for mainly by the financial exhaustion, and still more, by the financial dislocation of Europe. What was not fully foreseen when the arrangements for the Congress were made, a year ago, namely, the mysterious exaggerations of the "Valuta"—the staggering rates of exchange between the respective countries and Switzerland—rendered the journey to Geneva the severest of burdens on impoverished organizations. Even the English five-pound note lost 16 per cent of its value on crossing the frontier, the French notes, 55 per cent; Italian money, over 70 per cent; whilst the Germans had to forego still more, and the paper money of Austria and Hungary is not so very much better than the paper rubles with which the Soviet government is still flooding Russia. Only the traveler from the United States makes a profit on the exchange, for even in Switzerland the dollar is at a premium. For everyone else Switzerland is, today, financially as well as geographically, a pays des montagnes, up to which European visitors have to mount from monetary lowlands at various levels of depression, if not actually to climb out of deep crevasses.

The government of Switzerland and the Swiss people are proud of their distinction in maintaining Europe's "soundest" money; and with the idea of preserving its high level (and thus preventing a serious rise of prices from which the Swiss peasants and wage-earners would be the sufferers) no one is allowed to introduce the currency of any country, whether notes or coins, or even that of Switzerland itself, to a greater extent than a thousand francs per person. The introduction of gold coins of any nation is absolutely prohibited, a fact of significance to economists, but of little interest to the visitors of today. Presumably if anyone desires to spend in Swiss travel or sojourn more than a couple of hundred dollars, he must use a bank remittance, a transaction which may affect the rate of exchange for foreign moneys, but would not tend to raise Swiss prices. So strictly is this prohibition enforced that every traveler is singly and severely questioned at the frontier, and here and there one is searched from top to toe. The fine for trying to bring in more than a thousand francs in any currency whatsoever is heavy, and (as one English visitor lately found to his cost) it is ruthlessly exacted. The net result is to make it almost impossible for anyone from Eastern and Central Europe to visit Switzerland unless he is a "war profiteer," or has managed to retain his previous wealth. It may be mentioned that for the international conference of coal miners, which has just been held, the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, today the largest and most powerful labor organization of the world, generously offered to bear the whole expense, in attending the conference, of the delegates of the miners' unions of Austria and some other impoverished countries.

To return to the Second International itself (so-called because of the interval between the First International of 1864-1873, and the reorganization in 1889), the most marked feature of the Geneva Congress was the hearty cordiality

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of the delegates, one to another, the unbroken courtesy and kindly urbanity of all the proceedings, the obviously genuine "international" good feeling. Amid all the difficulties of three languages, necessitating the double translation, not only of every speech, but also of every notice or direction from the presidential chair; throughout the heat of sessions lasting, sometimes, from nine in the morning until midnight; with a small and somewhat unreasonably insistent minority among the British delegation claiming that even its verbal amendments should be discussed as well as voted on, the Congress held on persistently, politely and entirely amicably to its main purpose. Indeed, the half a hundred newspaper reporters who attended from all the nations of the world were wholly disappointed in their desire for sensational "copy."

Absolutely the only incident of the sort was a demonstration, toward the close of one afternoon's proceedings, by an organized gang of Genevan artisans, belonging to an extreme Communist faction, who took advantage of the free and open gallery to raise a clamor against the Congress itself, denouncing all the delegates, without exception, as "assassins," "scoundrels" and "traitors" to the working class movement. This was, in itself, so picturesque an example of revolutionary factiousness, whilst the appearance and gestures of the demonstrators themselves were so exactly true to type, that the Congress adjourned in great hilarity.

The main achievement of the Congress—one of some political importance to Europe—was the complete reconciliation between the organized working class and socialist movements of the nations lately at war with each other. International unity was shattered when the war broke out, and deep feelings of indignation entertained, especially by Belgium and France, against the German Social Democratic party for its failure to break with the imperialist German government that was violating the independence of Belgium and committing such terrible misdeeds against civilians, have hitherto prevented any formal reconciliation. After six years the breach is now healed. The Belgian delegates, supported by the French, insisted on raising the question of whose was the "war guilt?" The Congress, according to custom, referred it to a committee on which every nationality was strongly represented. In the committee a few dignified speeches were made; the German delegates made a manly confession of their failure, and expressed their sincere regret that they had been misled; and an affecting scene of reconciliation took place, in which the delegates embraced each other. The declaration was reported to the Congress, where it was received with heartfelt applause, the Belgian spokesman, with the concurrence of the French, and the support of every other nationality represented, promising that the past should be no more referred to, and expressing the unanimous determination of the European working class and socialist movements no longer to permit themselves to be divided in the pursuit of their common aims. This reunion of hearts will be of political importance in European politics. It greatly increases the difficulty that the statesmen will have in restarting the war, under any pretext. European labor is again a power to be counted with. The weapon of an international strike of miners and transport workers against any further occupation of Germany (such as the Ruhr district), or against any extensive military intervention in defense of the insane megalomania of the Polish government, becomes a possibility to be reckoned with.

The lengthy and declamatory resolutions voted by the Congress, as is usual at such gatherings, are of interest more as indications of the trend of socialist and trade union thought throughout Europe than for any executive force that they may claim. The Congress expressed itself wholeheartedly against war, and for the immediate economic reconstruction of the bankrupt countries of Europe. It called for active government intervention in controlling the import of foodstuffs and raw materials, in order that the ruined nations might not be deprived, merely as the result of the competition of richer nations, of their indispensable quota of the supplies available. The Congress was emphatic and impartial in its condemnation of imperialism, militarism, and the repression by force of subject races or minorities striving to exert their rights to "self-determination."

But perhaps more important than all these was the attempt made by the Congress to define clearly its position in contrast with that of the Bolshevism of Soviet Russia, and to propound, without equivocation, what the socialism of the organized labor movement in Western, Northern and Central Europe really means and proposes, as distinguished from the declarations and achievements of Lenin.

In the first place, the Genevan Congress declared emphatically, in a long and precisely formulated resolution, that it repudiated any "dictatorship," and all violence, and that it stood for complete democracy and the supremacy of the Parliamentary government, with universal suffrage in geographical constituencies. This is to be distinguished from liberalism, by Parliament being made

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supreme also over the economic and industrial administration of the community, as well as over its purely political business. A great part is to be played, in co-operation with the Parliament, by the voluntarily arising trade unions and professional associations, representing the common interests and desires of those pursuing a particular vocation. To such bodies, severally or in combination, Parliament is to look for advice, for complaints and for criticism relating to their respective vocations; and to them may be delegated such powers of vocational self-government (as distinguished from the management of industrial undertakings) as may from time to time be found expedient.

The practical proposals of socialism for the administration of industries and services were formulated by the Congress in a long and detailed report on "Socialization," which emphasizes the inevitable gradualness of the process, one great industry or service being dealt with at a time according as each becomes ripe for nationalization or municipalization. It is pointed out that this necessary gradualness of the process negatives any idea of confiscation, as this would not merely be inequitable to the individual owners chosen for expropriation, but would also have the effect of paralyzing capitalist industry, on which we must continue to depend for those products and services which cannot be immediately "socialized." The Congress accordingly declared for compensation for expropriated owners, the funds to be derived from taxation of property owners on income and capital (including both death duties and a limitation of the amount of inheritance). With regard to industrial administration, the Congress (a) sharply separates Parliamentary control from actual management; (b) entrusts the management of each nationalized industry to a tripartite national board, representing the mass of workers, the management and technicians, with the consumers and the community as a whole (the "Plumb plan"); (c) suggests district councils and works committees (Mr. Justice Sankey's proposal for the British coal mines); and (d) a joint committee of the management and each separately organized vocation for collective bargaining (as is common in England today).

It is to be noted that very few industries—not a dozen in all—are suggested for "nationalization." The number entrusted to the municipalities and other local authorities may be much larger. But the whole production, as well as distribution of household requisites, is assigned as the sphere of the voluntary consumers' co-operative societies, which are unequivocally recognized as part of the organization of the socialist commonwealth.

A third contrast with Lenin was presented in the specific revision of the definition of what was meant by the term Labor (arbeiterclasse proletariat). By this classic terminology of European socialism, the Congress declared was meant, not only the manual working wage-earners, but also the intellectual workers of every kind, the independent handicraftsmen and peasants, and all those who personally cooperate in the production of utilities of any sort. The term Labor (arbeiterclasse proletariat) is thus officially declared to exclude, among healthy adults, only those who idly "live by owning." The deliberate adoption, by the British Labor party a couple of years ago, of the phrase "workers by hand or by brain" is thus internationally endorsed and extended to all countries.

The British Labor party was, moreover, paid the compliment of being unanimously entrusted with the task of negotiating with the fractions and sections not represented at Geneva, in order to bring them once more to affiliation. Mr. Arthur Henderson was elected President; Mr. J. H. Thomas, Treasurer, and Mr. J. Ramsay Macdonald, a member of the new international executive of nine members, which was directed to meet regularly in London, to which it is proposed and hoped to transfer (at least temporarily) the seat of the International Socialist Bureau and of the Secretariat (over which, for the moment, M. Camille Huysmans will continue to preside in Brussels).

What Geneva has done, in short, is to declare emphatically against the acts and declarations of Lenin and Soviet Russia; to adopt, as the definition and practical program of its socialism, an essentially Anglo-Saxon and even Fabian expression; and, with German consent, to replace the typically "continental" complexion of its theory and even its phraseology, by something much more in consonance with English experience.

In 1815, after the battle of Waterloo, with some troubled interval, the English middle class liberalism gradually penetrated European political institutions. It looks as if, after the Peace of Versailles, with rather less interval, the opinions and practical proposals to which experience has brought the British labor movement may to a like extent, just at the moment when they may be assuming power, penetrate the European socialist and trade union organizations. Why does the trade union and socialist movement of the United States, which can both teach and learn something, persist in remaining outside this sane and useful world movement?

Geneva, Switzerland. SIDNEY WEBB.

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# A New Italian Renaissance

I.

AS a result of a recent journey of observation, I find Italy teeming with a purpose and promise that quite contradict the opinion or impression prevalent abroad. I talked with postal and railway strikers, with university students and professors, with contadini and the proprietors of the lands they till, with members of the government, and finally at some length with Italy's brave and exemplary King—who had just returned from what he termed a very interesting and enjoyable holiday among the charcoal-burners of the Maremma. As the conclusion of all that I have seen and heard, I am convinced that Italy is potential with a spiritual renaissance that may have a remarkable and formative effect upon the future of Europe.

The chauvinism manifested by students and nationalists during the war, and stimulated by the distinctly military class, has ceased to exist; or it exists in so small a degree that it counts for nothing either in the councils of the government or in the aspirations of the Italian people. If one wishes proof of this, he has only to ask an Italian about d'Annunzio. The Italian reflects a moment, as one making an effort to recall something that he had quite forgotten about, and then laughs. And that is the truth about Italy and d'Annunzio.

Fiume remains, it is true, and it is easy to understand why. It is not merely because Fiume is an Italian town, but because it is the back-door of the Italian house, that Italy concerns herself about Fiume's political state. "If there were such a thing as a real Society of Nations, if a brotherhood of the peoples were anywhere in prospect," said an Italian statesman to me, "then we would not need to protect our back-door. We wish this need did not exist. We are heartily tired of the question of Fiume and would gladly renounce it, so far as we are concerned, if we were certain of the town not becoming the possession of our real or potential enemies. In any case, you may be sure that Italy's whole attention is now turned within. It is our domestic situation that concerns us—our need of social reconstruction and the need of a regeneration of the Italian national soul."

II.

The regeneration of that national soul is proceeding apace. It is manifest in all the present trend and genius of Italy's literature. We have the extraordinary Giovanni Papini, for instance, turning from futurist art and politics to Christ. We hear him proclaiming to the Italian people that nothing can save civilization from disintegration except the conversion of men and institutions to the real Christ. Not the Christ of the theologians or prelates, but the Christ of the apostles, of the fishermen and the tent-makers and the slaves. We have Amendola, before the war a philosophical recluse, now appearing as a member of parliament and making, the other day, the most remarkable speech that has been heard in any European parliament for many years. We may hear another Italian deputy and a member of an ancient family, the Duca di Cesaro, insisting that civilization has become so materialistic in its psychology, as well as in its political and economic machinery, that it is better for mankind that it perish. Our duty is to prepare ourselves and others, he would say, for the creation of the new world amidst the falling ruins of the old.

You will find there, in nearly every university town and in all the principal cities, groups of young professional men, as well as students, who take an attitude similar to that expressed by the Duca di Cesaro. The old world order is doomed, they hold, and they are to prepare and consecrate themselves to the building of the new order. In Florence, gathered about the Philosophical Library, some years ago founded by a wonderful American woman, Mrs. Julia H. Scott, is one of these groups under the leadership of Dr. Roberto Assogioli, the young psychologist who is well known to many Americans. Its very presence, has changed the whole spiritual atmosphere of Florence. In the university of Naples is a still more remarkable movement—a group of young men living the lives of actual saints. They are quietists, at the present time, and hard to get at unless you already know some of them. But the austerity of their lives, the blend of high intellectual understanding with spiritual perception and purpose, moves one to reverence in their presence.

All in all, deep beneath all political and economic disturbances, parallel with the perilous problems inwardly besetting the nation, is the promise and potency of a new and younger Italy—an Italy the heir of both Virgil and St. Peter, of Francis Assisi and Dante, of both Mazzini and Cavour. So eager is this new springtime, that the Italian soil indeed is crackling with it, and the air pungent with its early buds and blossoms. It promises Europe that third synthesis, that third unity, of which Mazzini prophesied so fervently. Rome once gave political unity through the legions and the Caesars: she

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gave a second unity through the great abbots and the Popes. She must yet give a new and final unity —a unity at once spiritual and social, and involving cooperative labor and a brotherhood of nations throughout Europe.

III.

Moreover, something of this vision is passing before the men now governing Italy. "The time has arrived," said Count Sforza to me, "when the highest ideals of Italy's past constitute the only practical politics for Italy's future. The new watchword and the powerful motive of Italian policy is reconciliation. Italy must become the reconciler of Europe, or else Europe will perish—this is the thought of the men in power at Rome today."

Fortunately, Italy had in Prime Minister Nitti, at the most critical moment, about the first political economist of continental Europe. Unlike the politicians of France and England, he knew the problems that he had to deal with. The belated invitation to Germany to present her case to the Peace Conference in the meeting at Spa, the somewhat more conciliatory attitude towards Germany and Russia—all this is due to the tactful yet persistent pressure of Nitti. And now Giolitti, and practically all who have to do with the government, are determined to have done with the things that brought the war and the still more disastrous peace upon Europe. In Italy, if nowhere else, are the true signs of the times discerned.

This is manifested in the coming of Italy to the rescue of Austria. It began with the spontaneous movement of the Italian cities for the saving of the Austrian children. Every city of importance arranged public homes and provided the means to care for these starving little ones. Thousands upon thousands were not only placed in such homes in different cities, under the care of nurses and teachers, but other thousands were scattered among peasants and workmen. Let it be remembered, too, in this connection, that Italy herself is poor; yet out of her poverty she gave freely and joyfully. "This is our revenge against our ancient enemies," said certain Italians, "to wipe away all memories and causes of enmity in sincere friendship and helpfulness." It is worthy of note, also, that pending the long and criminal delay of the Peace Conference to provide for Austria, Italy has sent to Vienna twenty millions of wheat out of her own scant stores.

The recent visit of Renner, the Austrian Prime Minister, to Italy has had a marvellous effect upon both peoples. Renner and his people have been profoundly moved by their reception in Italy, and some of them have well said that this was the first generous hand or hope that had been held out to them since the beginning of their calamities. I was in Rome when Renner and his companions were there. It was indeed profoundly significant as well as touching to see the perfectly genuine and spontaneous sympathy, the chivalrous yet sorrowful respect, shown by the peoples toward these representatives of their beaten and broken enemies. An Austrian or a German in Rome is treated with that ancient and forgotten chivalry of the victor for the vanquished. There is no resentment, no revenge, no hatred. There is only a desire to help the foe to his feet, to feed his starving children and to be friends with him. Nothing like what I saw in Rome could conceivably happen in Paris or in New York; nor, I imagine, in London.

IV.

I have not said much of what will naturally and rightly seem the fundamental problem—namely, Italian economic confusion and the outcome thereof. Will Italy become Bolshevist or socialist? Or will some sort of industrial and social democracy emerge that will not fall exactly into either category?

Before answering or prophesying, I would call attention to the attitude of the present government toward the people. Giolitti and his associates are determinedly following one course—that is, they are telling the people the truth. This is the precise opposite of the course followed by the governing politicians of the Entente. Giolitti and his fellow-governors have told the Italian people starkly and comprehensively the actual economic condition of the country; have made clear to the Italians they must not depend upon America or England for financial help; have told them they must strip themselves to the bone and work out their economic salvation, if it is to be worked out at all. The Italian government has also insisted on utmost liberty of discussion concerning these problems. The most rabid Bolshevist may talk his Bolshevism in parliament if he wants to. There is in Italy today, and in no other country of the world, freedom of thought and speech. The government substantially says to the peoples: "You must choose how we are to get out of our situation; we think you are not ready yet to take over the management of industry and of the state; but we do not intend to forcibly prevent you from doing it if you decide to try it, but we believe you need a generation of preparation; we will do all we can, and do it as fast as we can, towards securing the things that you desire—not only better economic conditions but participation in production and distribution. But this will have to be a process of education and evolution, and not of an instantaneous violence—for this can only bring down ruin upon you and all of us at the present time."

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As to what the Italian people will do, no one can be certain; one can only express an opinion. My opinion is that Italy will not become a socialist state in the Marxian sense. Neither will Italy become Bolshevist and establish a proletarian dictatorship. The Italian is too individualistic, too fond of his freedom, to submit to such a regime as now prevails in Moscow or as would have prevailed in Germany if the Prussian socialism of Marx had captured the power some years ago.

But Italy will cease to be a capitalist society. The old economic order is confessedly doomed. Italy will work out some sort of an industrial and social democracy—a democracy indeed which will be the very essence of true socialism, but which will accord much more with Mazzini than with the distinctly Prussian program of the older socialists.

Moreover, in the working out of this Italian program, if it proceed not by violence but progressively and pedagogically, there will be little opposition from the old nobility or even from the Royal House itself. As between the sheer capitalist regime and essential social and industrial democracy, the old noblesse of Italy prefers the democracy—prefers it without hesitation or qualification. "Indeed, it is a phenomenon of the present moment," as the Duca di Cesaro said to me, "that the hatred of capitalism in itself has become quite as profound and pronounced with us as with the proletaire; it is merely a short time until our aspirations become identical."

V.

To sum up the matter, I should say that Italy is the one country in Europe wherein there is the possibility of a comparatively peaceful social revolution—that is, a revolution resulting from the utmost frankness and freedom of discussion on all sides and between all classes, and from a gradual fusion of the workers and the intellectuals in one aspiration and progress toward a new and free society. I do not say that this quality of revolution is certain. But I say that it is possible in Italy,—and nowhere else. There are most assuredly troublous times ahead. There will be strikes and riots, in one place and another, almost every week if not every day of the week. Even Soviets may spring up, in this city and that, or even be nationally tried for a fortnight. But I do not believe that there will be in Italy any repetition of Russia—though practically the whole of Italy, from the downmost laborer to the upmost man in the government, is unqualifiedly opposed to the Entente policy toward Russia, and in utmost sympathy with the Russian people in their efforts to liberate and reconstitute themselves.

Yet Italy will not go the Russian way. Her new society will be something profoundly different in both its psychology and its structure. It will not be built upon any materialist philosophy of life or interpretation of history. It will more likely approach—by the way of Mazzini and Kropotkin—the pattern provided by the Sermon on the Mount.

What is now potential in Italy—in the soul of Italy as distinguished from the outward phenomena of the moment—is a new renaissance. But it is a renaissance as wholly spiritual as the renaissance of glorious memory was wholly intellectual. If the nation can get safely through the next year or two without a violent upheaval, and if the germinating spiritual springtime be allowed to put forth its full glory, then I confidently expect from Italy a new European initiative, and the elements of a more Christly civilization.

GEORGE D. HERRON.

## The Wanderer

Red hands rose from the sea to take me,
Hairy, red hands;
Red eyes watched for my coming,
Hungry red eyes;
Through all the upland valleys
About the towns were watchers,
And a crier by night stood at the crossroads,
And lights blazed forth.

For I was born to wander;
Self-shaped and self-created,
To move from city to city,
Rejecting all.
I know the vision I have hungered for
Is held behind black mountains;
But on the summits I shall seek it,
I shall not fail.

I shall go out alone,
Like a gray god,
Striding on in the mist,
Ravens flapping behind me;
The rain will beat in my eyes
Like blinding swords;
The falling waters will take
The rhythm of my laughter.

I shall go on
In the mist and the rain;
The dew-jewelled fern I shall touch with my fingers,
It will spill its pale drops at my feet.
The crest of the dark pines will catch me,
The mountains' blue foreheads
Will heave up their helmets of steel
Into my path.

Dark hands from the storm-cloud will take me,
Falling dark hands;
Dark eyes will look bitterly on my coming,
Drooping dark eyes,
I shall pass on from the rumor of red cities
To the last fastness of the rocks,
Where on the peaks there sits and judges all the world,
Like a dead king, the night.

JOHN GOULD FLETCHER.

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# Salvation by Saving

*Why Men Strike, by Samuel Crowther, New York: Doubleday, Page & Co.*

MR. CROWTHER'S book is best discussed after his argument is stated. Briefly put, his contention is that the workers today are restless and dissatisfied. But they are not striking against wages and hours; they are striking against working for someone else—"against capital." Hence the remedy is to provide easy ways whereby workers can save money, become capitalists in their own right, and then not only will they be working for themselves, but their money will be working for them.

Mr. Crowther believes that the workers will become responsible and really interested in production only as they have a direct and personal financial stake therein; and also that industry will not be able to save enough out of present production to provide adequately for the needed capital outlays of the future unless the workers turn to and save on a large and systematic scale. Salvation, in short, is to come through saving because saving will mean gradual preemption of ownership in industry by the workers and it will mean bigger supplies of fresh capital and thus result in more and cheaper goods. Thrift is thus sensibly defined as consuming less than you produce for the purpose of being able to produce more. Of course, no one will be disposed to deny the general conclusions that one's individual resources should be kept by saving at a point above the margin of subsistence. Thrift in the sense of assuring a surplus in present production left undisturbed in order to supply the wherewithal for new enterprise, is not merely desirable, it is essential.

Question arises not in regard to these unimpeachable platitudes, but in regard to the practical deductions which Mr. Crowther makes from them. For what his proposal fundamentally comes to is a statement that it is *possible* for the workers to do the saving out of which fresh capital is secured, and this universalizing of the saving function is a *desirable* consummation. Were this author alone in pressing personal thrift as a basic remedy, there would be little point in demonstrating how greatly both of these assumptions stand in need of proof. But other writers and many industrial managers are saying that if only the workers were tied closer into the financial structure of industry, for example by the ownership of stock, their relations to industry would be sounder. Candid examination of such claims is thus timely and essential.

These two premises raise two large questions. Could the workers in any reasonable time get by popular systematic saving a sufficient accumulation of capital to bring about a drastic shift in the ownership and control of industry? And, second, even if such popular saving were possible, would that be the socially desirable way to secure new capital, to distribute any risk which may attend upon industrial growth, and to direct the flow of future production into the most necessary channels?

As to the first assumption that the working people can under present conditions get control of enough savings to make their influence count for much, Mr. Crowther says, for example: "The man who works for wages is the man with a surplus." Unrest "is expressed in the demand for almost confiscatory wages." "Nowadays most of the former poor do earn more than they need if only they spend wisely." "The man with the money today is he who works for wages. He receives anywhere from 50 per cent to 75 per cent of the total income of the country." "Out of our total national income the lowest estimate is that thirty-five billions are paid out in wages. Other estimates . . . place the wages paid as high as fifty-eight billions."

So much depends upon the correctness of these statements, that they require further scrutiny. Mr. Crowther's estimate of the proportion of the national income as well as of the actual amount of it which goes to manual workers, may be correct; these are figures which it is hard to treat except by approximations. But the figures are certainly greatly at variance with those of a reliable statistician like Professor David Friday (see, e. g. the American Economic Review, March, 1919, Supplement p. 79). And Professor Friday estimates that the *entire* national income for 1918 was only about seventy billions; and that of this amount less than half, or about thirty billions, went in wages. Thus Mr. Crowther's figures about the proportion and the amount of income going in wages appear excessive.

But the vital question is rather as to the actual sources of thrift and of new capital in the past. From whose savings has industry obtained the resources for its extension? The problem does not have to be deductively considered. About twenty-two billion dollars, says Professor Friday, represented the total saving or excess of production over consumption in 1918. And of these twenty-two billion, fourteen and a half billion represented the savings of business and agricultural enterprises. The other seven and a half billion represented "All other savings," including those of individuals.

This means that two-thirds of the new capital was provided not by individual efforts or personal abstinence. It was made available in industrial and agricultural profits which were not distributed. Corporate and farm savings are thus the most significant sources of capital. And even if we could, in line with Mr. Crowther's desire, conceive of, say, five per cent of the wage-income of the country being thriftily set aside by the workers for capital, it would add less than two billions to the nation's entire savings account and still be but one-seventh of the total savings account of the corporations and farms. It is in the light of such facts as these that Mr. Crowther's statement that "the savings of the workers are greater than the savings of the capitalist," should be scrutinized. And when we find it an asserted statement that "wages have been increasing faster than the cost of living and the surplus of the wage earners over the cost of living is the greatest potential fund of investment in the country," we are disposed to discredit that also.

There is, indeed, no careful wage study submitted by Mr. Crowther to show whether or not it would be possible or desirable for working class families to save out of present wages and thus curtail their living standards. However, not only have we seen above that it is not true that the wage fund can be the great source of new capital, but we know also from reliable, official wage data that income levels in the working class are only rarely equal to or above the amounts required for a comfort minimum wage.

Again, Mr. Crowther completely disregards the part played by our private credit system in defeating any attempts of workers to get ahead through saving. If the above figures of national saving are even roughly correct, they show that while the workers' possible savings under a systematic plan (assumed to be five per cent of the total wage income) might be earning at a four per cent rate three hundred million, the corporations with their larger savings would, at the same rate, be earning on their surpluses more than double that amount. But in reality, of

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course, the rate of return actually secured on corporate investment is usually twice or three times the savings bank rate. Hence it is a fair question: how, at the present rate of saving, can the workers do anything but slowly fall behind in the race for capital accumulation. If a capital fund is, as suggested by Mr. Crowther, like a snow ball which accumulates as it goes, another capital fund twice its size grows at a progressively faster rate. The scales are from the start weighted against the workers in any serious effort to shift the control of industry through thrift. Indeed, with the increasing centralization of credit control and the multiple use of credit made possible by the practice of credit deposits and the working of our rediscount system, only large scale thrift has a chance.

The first assumption is then untenable. It is today impossible and it becomes daily more impossible for the workers to get by recognized and customary means a sufficiently large amount of savings to make them really powerful in the control of industry through its finances.

The second assumption is that individual, private saving is the best way to conduct the savings and investing function. Obviously the function of thrift is important, and even more so is that of guiding and authorizing the direction of new capital outlay. Under present conditions, as we have seen, corporate thrift creates new resources in large chunks, so to speak. The difficulty with this is, not its effectiveness, but its high price. Corporations create these surpluses out of profits; then they proceed to capitalize the surplus and charge the use of this up to the new production in the course of which more surplus is created and then capitalized and so on; and the community is meanwhile always paying a price to cover both manufacturing costs and charges on all the capital which it has by previous purchases helped to build up.

Surely, the only alternative to this is not to individualize the work of saving. To distribute profits to individual workers in an industry through dividends on their stock holdings, and then try to reassemble these amounts for capital purposes, is surely not an economical procedure. Rather shall we probably find that we must eventually treat every industry rather than every corporation as a unit of saving and make the industry as far as possible supply its new capital out of its past profits pooled for this and other social uses.

It should, moreover, be unnecessary to have to point out that with individual thrift the control over the savings remains as now in one of two places. Either the money saved goes into the savings bank and thus comes under the control of private bankers; or the savings go to pay for stock in the corporation where the worker is employed. In the first case, the banking world still controls the outgo of credits and controls it with the thought of profits to itself paramount. In the second case, as each worker becomes a stockholder his desire is for high dividends and security of principal; he becomes disinclined to view the problem of production in its larger social bearings. He has a vested interest in keeping his own company going and making it more prosperous regardless of its real social utility. In short, under either method, there has been no socialization of saving or of credit control. There is the same old situation of control of capital resources by selfish and socially unenlightened agents.

The second assumption is thus also untenable. Private individual thrift is not the socially expedient way to get capital because it is easier for industry to avail itself of surpluses before they are divided, because such a method would not socialize credit in any fundamental way and because the supplying of fresh capital for all the basic utilities should not be a private and personal responsibility. For production in public service industries, any risk that still exists must be corporately and not personally borne; and the payment for risk must thus accrue not to profit takers but to the industry as a whole.

Salvation by saving is thus neither possible nor desirable. We must look elsewhere for a remedy that is economically tenable. Indeed, if Mr. Crowther had pressed his thinking about the nature of credit to its end, he might even have found that he was providing for the elaboration of a machinery which has certain fatal weaknesses. Credit from the point of view of the worker, is simply a promise on his part to perform labor in the future in exchange for goods and services being made available to him while he performs it. Credit from the point of view of the banker is simply an endorsement of those promises to work and the extension of credit is the giving of present purchasing power because of this confidence that the work will subsequently be performed. Any credit system is as strong and no stronger than the willingness of the workers to fulfill promises for which the private banker is today standing sponsor. If a time should ever come, as it conceivably might, when the workers in one industry would decide by direct conference to accept the promises to work of their fellows in other industries, and use those promises as the basis for the exchange of goods, the present private profit basis of credit and its whole mechanism would be unnecessary and would collapse.

But this book is untroubled by any such disturbing ideas. Mr. Crowther sets his face firmly against any thought of production for use with the wholly inadequate and hardly intelligible statement that "the objection to this is that it rests upon the false premise that there is always an abundance to distribute." The idea of production for use, of course, based on no such premise, but rather on the assumption that people will work effectively and productively only when they are satisfied that they themselves and the community as a whole rather than a very small and increasingly arrogant group are to be the beneficiaries of their efforts.

If Mr. Crowther had followed down the implications of this idea of industry as a public service, rather than the idea of individual thrift as the agency of amelioration, he would have come closer to a convincing answer to his question, Why do men strike? As it is, he is involved in assumptions which are hardly tenable, and in conclusions which are of negligible social value.

ORDWAY TEAD.

# The Third Window

*The Third Window, by Anne Douglas Sedgwick. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company.*

THE Third Window almost perfectly fulfills the suggestion of its title. It is composed as the view in the story is composed, with its fountain and ancient cedar, its flagged garden with fritillaries rising white and frail in narrow beds; and it has much of the delicate precision of line and enhanced effect of perspective which the frame of a fine window can give to the view which it reveals. But the perfection in arrangement is not complete, and the flaws which appear come close to calling in question the validity of Miss Sedgwick's studied placement of events and deliberate simplification. At the outset her handling

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of Antonia's fear of the third window is both too conscious and too slight. This uneasy apprehension is hardly attached to the half-sophisticated, half-child-like emotionalism with which it belongs; and the effect of preparation is obvious. The phrase "beside the fountain" is offered to the reader as a master-key, and when the central incident of the tale is finally reached it loses in consequence part of its complex effect. Again, at the end, it is as if Miss Sedgwick were bent upon keeping the story within the tragic limits which she first laid out for it, as if she were guarding to the last against the incursion of an overweighing emotion which would change her focus and disrupt her beautifully conceived order. But surely after his victory over Cicely Latimer, with the power of his feeling and his sense of the crux of events, Captain Saltonhall would have made an effort to see Antonia. As a piece of technique the introduction of the maid Thompson at this point is brilliant; it all but succeeds in diffusing our expectancy of action and change. But the notion lingers that this is after all simply technique, and that if permitted, the feelings loosened in the story would of their impetus have either altered the outcome or have made it more powerfully tragic.

Yet even with these lapses, The Third Window keeps a singular and exquisite beauty; and again and again Miss Sedgwick flashes past her imposed limitations, not so much in the scope of the story as in the revelation of character and motive. What remains is a penetrating sense of Antonia Wellwood and her lover, Cicely Latimer, and, more remotely, but quite sufficiently, Antonia's husband Malcolm, in their subtle and complex interrelationships. Miss Sedgwick constantly reaches to the generic in her portrayal of Antonia's sensitive, vulnerable self-absorption; and the drawing of Captain Saltonhall is spare and almost dry, yet ample. Perhaps the triumph of the story lies in the rendering of Cicely Latimer. Her appearances are always reluctant, they are brief; but Miss Sedgwick contrives an extraordinary revelation of Cicely's single, narrow, unyielding power, and in the picturing of her old little figure and strange, pale, bleached face with its bright unchildish eyes gives a confutation to the critic who inclines to distrust the consciously wrought design. Her emergence is one of the more deliberate effects in the story. By one of those lancing images, which Miss Sedgwick seems often to seek, Cicely is compared to a stone-curlew, a shy, solitary bird with a shattering cry, and the comparison is built up, touch by lucid indirect touch, until at length Miss Latimer perches, primitive, cruel, ready to soar, above the wreck which she has created out of her clairvoyance and malignant will. She never exceeds the image which first places her; she only fulfills it, and the delineation has the stabbing perfection which perhaps can only come from the firmly patterned and controlled.

C. M. R.

## Victorian Recollections

*Victorian Recollections, by J. A. Bridges. London: G. Bell and Sons.*

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upon the younger generation in kind. He looks askance at much so-called "progress"; he doubts the wisdom of "reform"; he is unalterably opposed to equal suffrage. But the most ardent liberal will not take ill the toryism of a man whose memories go back to the day when the parish church was hung with black in mourning for King William the Fourth, who Sunday after Sunday watched the great Duke of Wellington politely adjust his ear-trumpet as the parson ascended the pulpit, who took charge of a contingent of troops to Malta on their way to the Crimea, and who even recalls the blissful days when "every young girl who took service stayed till she either got married or retired." He remembers that curious and unsuccessful experiment the "Atmospheric Railway" (which figures, by the way, in one of the stories by Mr. Phillpotts), that ungainly predecessor of the bicycle, the velocipede with its four enormous wheels and clumsy pedals, and the days when pipes were lit by flint and steel. He recognizes the advances in material comforts that have been made since then but pleads for the compensations that existed in that far-off leisurely time.

Save the Great Duke, no important personage appears in his book, but there are pleasant accounts of country life and of old fashioned methods of agriculture, of school-days at Eton and in France, of mid-century Oxford; and in a series of character sketches he depicts a bishop of the days long before any parish was "served by 'Priests' and 'Holy Fathers'", various parsons and physicians, typical peasants of the Southern counties, and that "lapsed official" (as Mr. Bridges calls him), the well-to-do citizen who assumed the responsibility of introducing a candidate to a constituency where he was unknown. Mr. Bridges visited Canada and the United States in 1857. At Chicago he found "a few seedy-looking half-breeds selling moccasins around the Illinois Central Railway Depot . . . near which might still have been seen, by anyone who cared to look for it, the old historic fort, with its marks of Indian bullets." Lincoln he saw several times and he was present at one of the renowned debates with Senator Douglas. Not the least interesting of his chapters is that on children's books of his youth-time. A volume of nursery rhymes was once given him, but the presentation was delayed for a day or two while the governess went through the book "carefully erasing all the words that could to the most sensitive mind suggest the slightest hint of vulgarity." After the process of Bowdlerizing was completed very little of his new book remained legible. "This we thought was going a little too far." Amusing, yet pathetic, memories of a vanished civilization! A voice d'outre tombe!

S. C. C.

## Contributors

EDWARD G. LOWRY was formerly managing editor and Washington correspondent of the New York Evening Post. He is the author of several books, among them Foreign Banks and Financial Systems, and Rhode Island Conditions.

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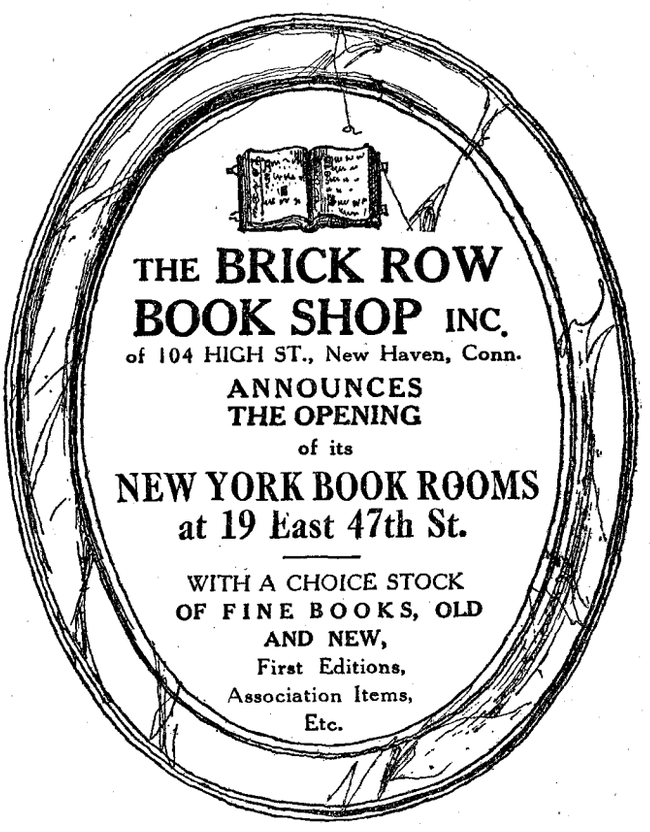
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